

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7310

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 04096

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE LINK BETWEEN PROTOCOL DURATION AND
REDUCTIONS BELOW 2400 (SALT TWO-1658)

REF: SALT TWO-1585

1. US PROPOSAL CALLS FOR PROTOCOL TO EXPIRE SEPTEMBER 30, 1980, WHILE SOVIETS PROPOSE THAT PROTOCOL RUN THREE YEARS FROM DATE OF ENTRY INTO FORCE OF TREATY. IN MOST RECENT SOVIET PLENARY STATEMENT ON REDUCTIONS (REFTEL), SEMENOV LINKED INTERNAL DECISIONS ON COMPOSITION OF FURTHER REDUCTIONS TO RESOLUTION OF PROTOCOL ISSUES, BUT HINTED AT SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON PROTOCOL DURATION BY STATING THAT PROTOCOL ISSUES "MUST BE RESOLVED BY THE END OF 1980." SOVIETS CONTINUE TO INSIST ON EIGHTEEN-MONTH PERIOD STARTING JANUARY 1, 1981 FOR REDUCTIONS FROM 2400 TO 2250 SNDVS. US PROPOSES SIX-MONTH PERIOD STARTING JANUARY 1, 1980 FOR REDUCTION FROM 2400 TO 2160 SNDVS.

2. US AND SOVIET DIFFERENCES ON REDUCTIONS BELOW 2400 AGGREGATE INVOLVE EXTENT OF REDUCTIONS, DATE OF INITIATION
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AND DURATION OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION.

A. ON EXTENT OF REDUCTIONS, SOVIETS CONTEND THAT A 2250 SNDV LEVEL WOULD "NOT UPSET THE BALANCE OF INTERESTS" BETWEEN THE PARTIES, BUT HAVE NOT EXPLAINED HOW A 2160 SNDV LEVEL WOULD UPSET THAT BALANCE.

B. ON INITIATION OF DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION, SOVIETS, AS NOTED, LINK END OF PROTOCOL TO COMPOSITION AND BEGINNING OF FURTHER REDUCTIONS AND MAY BE SIGNALLING ACCEPTABILITY OF DECEMBER 31, 1980 PROTOCOL TERMINATION.
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C. ON DURATION, SOVIETS CLAIM THAT DUE TO UNFAVORABLE CLIMATIC CONSIDERATIONS AND RESOURCE LIMITATIONS FOR DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION ACTIVITIES, THEY REQUIRE EIGHTEEN MONTHS TO REDUCE FROM 2400 TO 2250 SNDVS.

3. DELEGATION BELIEVES WASHINGTON SHOULD CONSIDER PACKAGING ISSUES OF REDUCTIONS AND DURATION OF PROTOCOL IN A PROPOSAL WHICH PROVIDES MORE TIME FOR COMPLETION OF REDUCTIONS, BUT AT SAME TIME FIXES PROTOCOL EXPIRATION DATE AND BRINGS ABOUT SOLUTION WHICH MEETS US INTERESTS. PACKAGE PROPOSAL WOULD BE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A. EXTEND TERM OF PROTOCOL THREE MONTHS FROM SEPTEMBER 30, 1980 TO DECEMBER 31, 1980.

B. MAINTAIN POSITION THAT REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TO 2160 AGGREGATE LEVEL.

C. INITIATE NOT LATER THAN JANUARY 1, 1980 DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF EXCESS ARMS TO REACH 2160 AGGREGATE
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LEVEL.

D. DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION OF 1/3 OF EXCESS SYSTEMS MUST BE COMPLETED NOT LATER THAN JUNE 30, 1980, 2/3 NOT LATER THAN SEPTEMBER 30, 1980 AND ALL BY DECEMBER 31, 1980.

E. INTERIM "DEACTIVATION" PROCEDURES SHOULD BE AGREED UPON IN STANDING CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION, SO THAT ALL EXCESS SYSTEMS ARE REMOVED FROM OPERATIONAL STATUS SOON AFTER JANUARY 1, 1980 EFFECTIVE DATE OF REDUCTIONS. SUCH PROCEDURES, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD REQUIRE REMOVAL OF LAUNCHER CLOSURE AND MISSILE FROM ICBM LAUNCHERS, REMOVAL OF LAUNCH TUBE COVER AND MISSILE FROM SLBM LAUNCHERS AND PARTIAL DISMANTLING OF HEAVY BOMBERS. PURPOSE WOULD BE TO INSURE THAT ND SYSTEMS IN EXCESS OF 2160 SNDV LEVEL ON JANUARY 1, 1980 WOULD REMAIN OPERATIONAL UNTIL LATE IN 12-MONTH PERIOD ALLOWED FOR REDUCTIONS.

4. PROPOSAL OUTLINED ABOVE WOULD HAVE TWO ADVANTAGES FROM A NEGOTIATING STANDPOINT:

A. IT WOULD SPLIT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US PROPOSAL
FOR A SIX-MONTH REDUCTION BELOW 2400 AND SOVIET PROPOSAL
FOR EIGHTEEN MONTHS;
B. SINCE IT IS COTERMINOUS WITH PROTOCOL, IT WOULD
REPRESENT A COMPROMISE BETWEEN US POSITION THAT
REDUCTIONS SHOULD PRECEDE END OF PROTOCOL PERIOD
AND SOVIET POSITION THAT THEY SHOULD FOLLOW IT.

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 04096

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5. DELEGATION REQUESTS WASHINGTON APPROVAL TO PROPOSE
PACKAGE ALONG LINES OF PARA 3 ABOVE. EARLE

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